my grandmother who, with her plot of paddy land and her fruit and vegetable gardens, was among the wealthiest in the village, never connected these with her children or those of her friends.

Grandfather died when quite young, leaving my Paw-Pwa (Grandmother) with four sons and two daughters, of whom my father was the eldest. Like all the boys of the village, my father after eight or nine years of unrestrained childish delights when he could play all day, in the stream and up and down the village streets, stopping only when hungry or tired, wheedling the grown-ups to let him sit up till late at night listening to stories, was sent to the monastery on the outskirts of the village. The word for monastery in Burmese, *kyaung*, is the same as the word used for school, and it was to be taught learning and holiness, obedience and discipline, dexterity in manual and domestic tasks, and to be given a deep spiritual influence to last throughout life, that Grandmother and her friends sent their sons there. The parents whose hearts suffered too much at the thought of inflicting any punishment themselves now handed them over to the monks with the plea that they would teach them to be good and obedient, and chastise them severely if they did not obey.

The kyaung at Ye, like all kyaungs in Burma, was built in surroundings chosen for their pleasantness. On a slight slope overlooking the stream was a pagoda, the pagoda of the village where the people came on fasting and feast days to kneel on the paved platform around the tapering golden spire and recite the precepts. Down from the platform the steps were lined with shady trees, and to one side of this was the monastery, a wooden building with verandahs and tiered roofs, set in a large garden, containing a few flower beds for offerings at the altars, but chiefly wide shady spaces, great trees including a *nyaung-bin* (a sacred banyan, with huge spreading branches), flowering *gangaw* trees and deep green mango trees. In one corner was a well.

The monks consisted of the *saya-daw*, the senior monk who acted as head and abbot, about twenty monks who had been formally admitted to the order and were called *upasins*, and a number of novices who were wearing the yellow robe either for a short time, or to be admitted as monks later on. My father and his companions were admitted as *kyaungthas*, scholars. The monks spent their days in the recitation of religious formulæ and teachings, in meditation, in the telling of beads and the teaching of scholars. They did this while observing a strict and simple life, abstaining from solid food after noon, possessing no goods except the essential articles laid down in the monastic rules, observing chastity and poverty. To the people of the village they were the embodiment of good and holiness, living the noblest and most meritorious life a man can live. The people addressed them in conversation as

"Your holiness" and themselves as "Your holiness' pupil". The monks addressed the people as *daga*, giver, for they lived by the gifts of the people who donated robes, household articles and other necessities to the monasteries, as good works which brought them merit.

When my grandparents took my father to the kyaung he was a frightened little boy dressed in a cotton skirt called a *longyi*, and a shirt without cuffs and collar; his hair was grown long in the centre and tied in a knot, the sides being cut in a fringe about two inches long all round, and the rest shaved clean, a way of growing hair common to both little boys and girls and enhancing their youthful appearance. He and all the other scholars performed the domestic tasks of the monastery, swept and rubbed the good hard wooden floors, the monastery grounds and pagoda steps, because in these precincts all comers went barefoot; they drew water for drinking, and for the bath of the older monks; they followed the monks on their rounds, two of them bearing a pole on which was slung a covered tray, to take any food donated in excess of what would go into the monk's bowl; they waited on the monks at meals; they learned to read and write, and do simple sums, to recite precepts and religious passages which they shouted at the tops of their childish voices in imitation of the deep intoning voice of the teacher monk, phrase by phrase; in the evenings they went home to eat the meal which the monks abstained from, but came back at sunset to recite the lessons of the day and many past days all over again, to join in the assembled night prayers, to sleep in the monastery and rise again before dawn.

When my father spoke to us of his years in the monastery he always chuckled with delight, in spite of this long list of disciplined tasks. He had the advantage from the first; he was stronger and taller than other boys, and in a system where all learning was by heart he had brilliant memorising powers. The school-room of the kyaung had not the formal atmosphere of the Western school-room with each child at a desk and chair, and a silence except for the voice of teacher or child. The monastery boys all went into the same big room of the monastery, irrespective of age or stage, each with his slate or book, got down on the floor

1: Mi Mi Khaing I-5 (no date) 1948 AP1 Burma
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chair, with a betel box and spittoon on one side of him, and his favourite and most learned grandchild, my cousin Lu Pe now Superintendent of Archæology, reading the scriptures to him, he could sit in the shadow of his solid teak house, with a row of mango trees before him, the townspeople using his well of clean good water, the road through his garden which was open at the hottest hours of the day for all wayfarers and sellers to find a short and shady route across, his garden with flowers for altar and vegetables for kitchen, and stray trees which are an asset in any garden —the *gwe* tree whose fruits were sweeter and larger than the ordinary, the *dandalun* with pods to curry and leaves for soup, the *ywetyo* with its leprous looking fruit which are for the connoisseur and to be eaten as cure for coughs. How blessed for my grandfather at the end of his days to have attained such peaceful comfort and to feel that he had passed on religion, literature, discipline of mind and body to the generation of his grandchildren.

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To dwell in a pleasant spot, to have done good deeds in former births,
To have set oneself in the right path,—this is the greatest blessing.
Much learning and much science, and a discipline well learned,
Yea, and a pleasant utterance,—this is the greatest blessing.

(From the *Mingala-thot-pyo :* Song of Blessing.)

three most productive areas, and Thaton district takes first place in Tenasserim. But rice is more than the chief export crop of the country to us. It is our *wun-sa*, food for the womb, our staple food; and we have depended so much on it that we pay it reverence, almost. When we were young, A-Kyi and our nurses never allowed us to tread on any rice that had been spilt; rice was like a master and human beings its servants, they said. The phrase for "I was not born yesterday" is "I grew up eating rice", and in the same way excessive stupidity excites wonder that the person nourished on rice can be so stupid. Through years of journeying on trains, bullock carts, and river steamers, we have seen the peaceful green fields, the dry reaped corn, the golden grain heaped on small canoes before milling. Though we did not know the toil and the uncertain hopes of the cultivators, we followed the growth of the life-giving grain through all its stages, seeing the first sproutings in one place in one year, the ripe and mature crop in another, and the thriving young stalks of a later generation in another place and time.

Our fields seemed perpetually marked into small beds by ridges six inches high. Lying empty during the first months of the year, these beds grew parched and baked by April and May. With the first blessed showers of the monsoon about mid-May, however, one, two, three, four or more inches of rain fell on the beds within about ten days, and softened the hard crust. Men went to work about the end of the month, and with harrow and plough they chopped and churned up the earth, cutting and burying weeds, refining the rough, and making the stiff clay soil pliant until a soft fine mud was produced. In the meantime, the seeds had been soaked in water in deep layers between banana leaves, to make them sprout and become more receptive of the soil's richness. These were brought out in baskets, and young men and women wearing wide bamboo hats in the heavy showers, walked about scattering them, using up to ten basketfuls in one acre. They allowed the seeds to lie for a few

becoming common. Borrowing money is always such a shameful thing to Burmans that highly usurious rates prevail. The minimum rate of these private money-lenders is Re. 1/8 per Rs. 100/- per month, *i.e.* 18% per annum.

But this emphasis on money-making during the retirement period was not pure avariciousness. It was connected with the ability to discharge the duties of a parent and a good Buddhist during one's last years, to have sufficient means to settle children in a good marriage, which is one of the duties laid down for a good parent, and to make many donations towards pagodas, resthouses and monasteries, all as a foundation for a rebirth into a better existence.

For men like my father, this last period of their lives was a soft and gentle immersion in the atmosphere which pervaded their childhood in the monastery, and which had been banished into a memory with the years of English education, government posts, courts and litigation, and the rearing of children whose future must be bound up with the obtaining of better government posts.

During these years, my father continued his daily prayers before the altar, but they were short and he said them softly, his feet were shod with shoes and socks, his tourings took him to headmen's houses more often than to monasteries, his evenings were spent in playing tennis instead of chinlon, and drinking lime-juice instead of coconut water, and his houses of the regulation pattern were filled with cane furniture made by convicts in jails. What a far cry from the dim light on wooden floors and pillars, the steady chorus of young monks at prayers. My father, who during his working years had encouraged us to eat, laugh and be merry in each present moment, now dismayed us with a sudden conviction of the vanity of all worldly things, towns, society, dress and ornament. We woke up at dawn to the sound of his prayers, and on most mornings he walked out of the town to the hills where the monasteries and resthouses were gathered; he walked barefoot again with great enjoyment in those quiet grounds, turned aside to supervise the building of a *thein*, a house for the ordination and meditation of monks, which he had persuaded a more wealthy friend to endow. He no longer showered on us de luxe editions of Western encyclopaedias and the collected works of Dickens and Scott as he used to, but bought richly carved book cases and sacred books for the monasteries in Thaton. We no longer ate our meals on chairs, sitting up at a table, but at a low round table on the polished floor. My father sat cross legged, but he could not go back to eating with his fingers, he still used a spoon and fork. At nights we fell asleep to the sound of his prayers and it was like a benediction. Buddhist prayers in Burma consist of two parts: the first is a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VIII

DOMESTIC LIFE

THE Burman is the most calm and contented of mortals. He does not want to grow rich. When he does make a large sum of money, he spends it all on some pious work, and rejoices in the thought that this will meet with its reward in his next existence. If he never amasses enough to build any great public work, at any rate he subscribes what he can, and is generous in almsgiving. A bountiful soil will not let its children starve; and so the Burman jogs on through a cheerful existence, troubled by no anxious cares, and free from all the temptations of ambition. His daily round is simple enough. In the morning, after his bath, he loiters about, talking to the neighbours till breakfast time, or perhaps strolls out to the corner of his paddy field, and indulges in a contemplative smoke. After breakfast he probably dozes through the heat of the day, and when the shadows begin to get long, saunters about again. A semblance of regular labour appears when the paddy is being sown or the grain reaped, but even then no one is in the least inclined to disturb himself for the sake of rapid work. It is sufficient that you are always certain in Burma what kind of weather you are going to have. "Another hot day," or "another wet day," is quite as much a matter of course as the rising of the sun itself, and there is therefore no need to hurry operations in case of a change. The evenings are spent ordinarily at a pwè during the fine season, or in amicable converse over a cheroot at a friend's house in the rains. Variety comes occasionally in the shape of a jolting, hilarious journey to a distant pagoda feast, or a trip

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma A P1
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Upper Burma
Lower Burma
Europeans

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down the river in the big rice-boat to one of the great milling towns. And so an uneventful life passes away: the greatest ambition to see the village boat successful at the Thadingyut races, and the village champion cock or buffalo triumphant over all others; the greatest desire to live peaceably with all men and observe the Ten Precepts; the greatest excitement the occasional visit of the English district officer, or the suspicion of a witch in that lonely house down by the spirit's pool on the creek. In Upper Burma formerly this quiet was more apt to be disturbed by the summoning of levies to serve in some special raid against audacious dacoits, or to make a demonstration against reiving mountaineers. If the myo-wun was a pious man, calls for enforced labour at digging tanks, building pagodas and monasteries, rest-houses and tazaungs, were likely to keep the villager a great deal more occupied than he cared for. There can be no doubt in any patriotic Burman's mind that the state of the people, regularly taxed though they be, under British rule, is infinitely happier than it was under their king, and all but the officials and their hangers-on longed for the day when the English flag was to float over all the land as far as Mogaung. There could be no hope for the country, where, even under a kindly king like Mindôn, ill-conditioned governors oppressed the populace with absolute impunity. Complaints were made, but his majesty could not venture to leave his palace for any great distance to inquire for himself, and gold easily dulled the senses of the highest minister round the golden throne. It is little wonder then that the people, kept perpetually in the lowest depths of poverty, were, if not actually dying out, certainly not increasing in numbers. There was nothing which so much indicated the popular feeling, and at the same time so irritated the Burmese Government, as the unceasing stream of emigrants to Lower Burma.

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Nevertheless, even in Independent territory the Burman preserved his light heart and buoyant disposition. No calamity is so overwhelming as to make him despond. Some years ago a large fire occurred in Mandalay, and spread with such terrible rapidity that the inhabitants of a whole quarter were unable to save anything but the clothes they

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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wore. Some of them went the next day to the English missionary chaplain, and told him of the misfortune that had befallen them, and how so completely were they rendered destitute that they had been indebted to the charity of the inhabitants of the monastery for a breakfast that morning. The clergyman promised to do what he could for them, and the same evening went along to view the site of the fire. What was his astonishment to find that the burnt-out victims had rigged up a rude stage among the charred stumps of their house-posts, and in default of a house to sleep in, were prepared to spend the night listening to the love-making of the princes and princesses, and laughing at the caustic witticisms of the clown, not a few of the jokes being inspired by the blackened surroundings. Such defiance of all the ills of fate is very characteristic, and would seem to a Burman mind the most natural thing to do under the circumstances, since it afforded both distraction and amusement.

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If any one has escaped the curse of Adam it is the Burman. He does not need to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow, and riches having no attraction for him, when his patch of paddy land has been reaped, his only concern is how to pass the time, and that is no very difficult matter, where he has plenty of cheroots and betel-nut. He can stroll along to neighbour Maung Gyi's, whose son has a knack for wood-carving, and watch him as he deftly cuts out a piece of elaborate scroll-work for the roof of a neighbouring monastery, or finishes off the grim features of a bilu for the English Inspector of Police. Next door the sayā is engaged on a painting, the representation of some palace scene, or of some well-known event in the life of the Lord Buddha. Burmese artists do not, as a rule, paint likenesses, though they are by no means unsuccessful when they make the attempt. Any one but a high official would probably consider it a mark of great presumption and conceit to hang up a picture of himself in his house. There is, however, none of the objection to portrait painting which is so common with some other nations. For example, the Mohammedans will not suffer likenesses to be drawn for fear they should demand a soul on the Day of Judgment, and so some actual human being might come to be left out in the cold. Catlin

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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538 specially run up for the occasion, or even in the open street. When a well-known sā-haw sayā is going to recite the Wethandaya or the Zanekka Zāts, or when he tells how the Lord Buddha left his father's palace to wear the yellow robe, or how he ascended to Tawadeintha, a dramatic performance is often completely deserted, and the actors have no option but to follow the populace and listen to the improvisatore themselves. One of the best of the Burmese dramatic writers, U Po Mya, was also particularly celebrated as a sā-haw sayā. He could repeat his own drama, the Wizaya Zāt, from end to end, but had also a particular facility in improvising.

181 His night's amusement over, the Burman goes home to sound sleep on his Danubyu mat or a coarser one if he has not got that, and rises to spend another day of the same kind. He cares nothing for the assertion that he leads an aimless, lazy life. He has enough to live upon, and the writings of all the philosophers say that wealth only brings new cares.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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too broad to mount two at a time, and too low[1] to suit occidental tastes taken singly. This method of enforcing respect is characteristic of the Burmese nation, and reminds one of the nails which projected through the floors in the Royal Palace at Mandalay.

The stairs debouch on a broad, open, flagged space, which runs all round the pagoda, and is left free for worshippers. From the centre of this springs from an octagonal bi-nat-daw, or plinth, the profusely gilt, solid brick payā. It has a perimeter of 1355 feet, and rises to a height of about 370, or a little higher than St. Paul's Cathedral. On the summit is the hti, the gilt iron-work "umbrella," on each of whose many rings hang multitudes of gold and silver jewelled bells, which tinkle melodiously with every breath of air. This hti was made and presented by Mindôn Min, the second last King of Burma, and was placed on the summit at a cost of not much less than £50,000. It was constructed by voluntary labour; and subscriptions in money and jewels, with which the vane and the uppermost band are richly studded, flowed in from all parts of Burma. The old king, "the convener of the fifth great synod," strove hard to have it placed on the pagoda entirely at his own cost and by his own men; but the British Government rightly and firmly refused, for had this been done it would have been regarded by British Burmans as an acknowledgment of his suzerainty. After considerable correspondence it was handed over at the frontier to native officials and a body of Buddhist elders, by whom it was conveyed to the holy Theinguttara Mount, and there successfully placed in position. The old hti was lowered intact, and now stands on the platform, filled in and gaily painted like a small pagoda or a florid marriage cake, beside a still earlier decoration which it had supplanted.

At the corners of the basement are somewhat Assyrian-like figures of Manôt-thiha, creatures with two bodies and one head, half lion, half man, with huge ears and ruffled crest, and all round about are stone figures of lions displaying an ample show of teeth between their grinning lips. The tale is that long ages ago a king's son who had been abandoned in the forest was found by a lioness and suckled by

[1] [i.e., the stairs of the Shwe Dagôn Payā -- ANALYST]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XXXIX

LUCKY AND UNLUCKY DAYS

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IT has come to be considered an axiom that the Burmese are irredeemably lazy. Some authors who have written about the country ascribe a very great number of additional bad qualities to them; others are more favourable; but all are unanimous in the declaration that they are lazy. The reverend missioner, Father San Germano, who was almost the first European to write a definite account of Burma, is the most unkind critic of all. He gathered together a great deal of information about the country during his long residence, but the opinion he formed of the people would be crushing were it not so strongly at variance with that expressed by a Christian priest who has been still longer in Burma, and whose knowledge of everything connected with it yields to none, the late Bishop Bigandet. But it is as well to see ourselves as others see us. The good father says: "The Burmese are distinguished for that timidity and servility which is the characteristic of slaves. . . . There is no contempt, oppression, or injustice they will not exercise towards their fellow-men when they can assure themselves of the protection of government. They are thus vile and abject in adversity, but arrogant and presumptuous in prosperity. There is no one amongst them, however mean, who does not aim at the dignity of mandarin (minister)." But the chief characteristic of the Burmese "is an incorrigible idleness. Instead of employing their time in improving their possessions, they prefer to give themselves up to an indolent repose; to spend the day in talking, smoking, and chewing betel, or else to become the satellites of some powerful

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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mandarin. The same hatred of labour leads to an excessive love of cunning, and also to thieving, to which they are much addicted. . . . It would seem that it is impossible for this people to tell the truth; nay, a person who ventures to do it is called a fool, a good kind of man, but not fitted for managing his affairs." Still the padre has a little good to say of them: "Besides giving daily alms to their talapoins, they all lay by something to be applied to some sort of public benefit. They are very fond of thus signalising their generosity, and will often deprive themselves of comforts to have the pleasure of being benefactors to the public." This is an unlovely picture. But the good father was apparently very unfortunate in his acquaintances.

It is pleasant after this to turn to a soldier's opinion. Major Grant Allen says: "Unlike the generality of Asiatics, the Burmese are not a fawning race. They are cheerful, and singularly alive to the ridiculous; buoyant, elastic, soon recovering from personal or domestic disaster. Free from the prejudices of caste or creed, they readily fraternise with strangers, and at all times frankly yield to the superiority of the European. . . . Indifferent to the shedding of blood on the part of their rulers, yet not individually cruel; temperate, abstemious, and hardy, but idle, with neither fixedness of purpose nor perseverance. Discipline, or any continued employment, becomes most irksome to them, yet they are not devoid of a certain degree of enterprise."

This is a much better certificate, but still we are accused of laziness. Let us now turn to the last and the best authority on the subject (from an English point of view), Colonel Horace Browne, at one time Commissioner of Pegu, and always very popular with the Burmese. The Burman, he says, "displays much spasmodic energy and general laziness, much love of feasts and shows, much disregard of the sacredness of human life, and much tenderness for the lives of inferior members of the animal kingdom, much arrogance and inconsiderateness when placed in high position, and last, though not least, much general truthfulness, and, amongst unsophisticated villagers, the very unoriental trait of being unable to tell a specious falsehood."

The hauteur complained of towards strangers is princi-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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pally due to the fact that the stranger is not a Buddhist, and has not as a boy been admitted into a monastery. To a Burman such a man is no better than a buffalo or a dog. In those of low degree this feeling shows itself in pitying kindness, in those in high positions in arrogance and insulting rudeness.

The unpleasant allegations of Father San Germano may be considered cancelled by the advocacy of the two military gentlemen, but there remains the united charge of unwarrantable laziness. Let us see what can be said for the defence on this point.

It may be taken for granted that the whole human race is more or less hampered by a dislike for work when there is no necessity for doing it. In addition to sharing this weakness, the Burman is fettered by a multiplicity of fortunate and unfortunate days. When he is born, his sadā, or horoscope, is cast, detailing minutely the moment at which he appeared, and the influence the presiding constellation has over him personally; and this sadā must be carefully examined before anything can be done. But beyond this there are a great variety of unlucky days which more or less concern everybody, and have to be avoided if a man is to hope for success in his enterprise or his journey. To enlist the sympathy of maritime England, I will begin with the superstition about Friday:

Thaukkya ye gyaung
Ma thwa kaung.

On Friday boats sailing
Cause weeping and wailing.

On the contrary, if you begin the study of a subject on Friday you will become an authority on it. Thursday is also a good day; but if you commence on Tuesday or Saturday you will soon die. Saturday is a bad day for everything, especially for fires—a fact which the Fire Brigade would probably corroborate. But doubtless it is somewhat irritating for an Englishman when he wants to commence a journey, and has everything ready except the bullocks for the cart, to find that he cannot persuade his servants to buy or engage them till Sunday, because such a proceeding would

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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CHAPTER XLVI

FORMING THE NATIONAL CHARACTER

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IF the nation which has no history is happy, it is difficult to know what is to be said of the nation which has a very voluminous history, almost all of which is, however, pure romance. The effect on the Burmese of the fond imaginings of the Mahā Yazawin, the great Chronicle of Kings, is most undesirable. No defeats are recorded in those courtly pages; reverses are charmed into acts of clemency; armies vast as those that people dreamland march through its chapters; its heroes are of the old ballad type; its treasures such as might have been the produce of Aladdin's lamp. The result has been a permanent influence on the national character. Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Chronicle of British Kings" has left only a faint mark on the national literature, but had the English lived forty degrees nearer the line, they might still be believing in Brut, great-grandson of Æneas, and the unbroken line of kings of whom King Arthur was chief. As it is, the British Mahā Yazawin only supplied a spring for the poets of all the after time. The Burman Chronicle, on the other hand, has laid the foundation of the national character. Like all hardy, strong-limbed races, the Burmans are naturally proud; but this innate pride has been tenfold increased by the wonderful tales of the national annals. What is a Burman to think when he reads in the history of his country—there is but the one means of learning the past—that the English have only foothold in Burma through the clemency of a gracious king? They might have been crushed as effectually as the first settlers of Negrais Island; they might have been driven forth as easily as their seven-

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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563 775 he must feel himself strong enough to beat down the fire of passions and remain steadfast to the end, for a lutwet, a man who has put his hand to the plough and turns back again, exposes himself to infinitely greater danger towards his next existence than he who has remained throughout in the world. The monastery is a house of refuge not to be lightly sought, and, sad to say, even it is not open to the outcast.

775 ●181 761 This doctrine of kan also accounts for the equanimity and callousness with which Buddhists view human misery and the taking of human life, notwithstanding the law which forbids the killing of even the smallest insect. They recognise apathetically the working out of inexorable destiny, and watch a man drowning in the river with undisturbed tranquillity, for they are not called upon or even justified in stirring a hand to prevent it. You cannot combat manifest fate.

564 But the outcast may not in any case enter the monastery, not even as a scholar. Even that last chance is withheld from him. He is the connecting link with the state of animals, the highest state of punishment. He is considered no better than an animal in thought; he meets with less toleration in actual life. Were he bedizened to the eyes with costly silks and priceless jewellery no girl would look at him. His wealth is of no use. He is not allowed to build a pagoda, or even to supply fresh-water pots on a wayside stand. The monk would refuse his alms; the starving free-man beggar would scorn his bounty. They will no doubt gradually disappear under British rule, but there will be those who will regret it. They may have to work hard for their living.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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teenth-century ancestors from the factory at Bhamaw, far up the Irrawaddy on the confines of China; but Bagyidaw, the king, said, like the Lord Buddha, "All can take life, but who can give it back?" The Burmese annalist relates: "The kalabyu, the white strangers from the west, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place, and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the king, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money on the enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo their resources were exhausted; and they were in great distress. They petitioned the king, who, of his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country."

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By the Treaty of Yandabo, extorted by the fear that the capital would fall into the hands of Sir Archibald Campbell, then thundering at the gates of Ava, the English acquired the provinces of Tenasserim and Arakan, and deprived the sovereign of two-thirds of his sea-board. The Province of Pegu, which was annexed after the second Burmese war in 1852-53, has never been formally ceded by any treaty. King Mindôn said, "Let them stay there; I cannot turn them out, but I will not be written down as the king that gave up Rangoon." Lord Dalhousie said, "A treaty with a man like that is useless"; and he straightway fixed upon a parallel of latitude as the northern boundary of British Burma, and put up a line of frontier pillars along it without reference to the Burmese Government at all. The Mahā Yazawin said, in effect, "The foreigner was starving in his own land, and the king bounteously granted him a resting-place in the dismal swamps by the sea." Until the Burmese kingdom finally disappeared the only approach to a recognition of the British possession of Pegu was an announcement from Mindôn Min that "orders had been issued to the governors of districts not to allow the Burmese troops to attack the territories of Myedè and Taung-ngu, in which the British Government had placed its garrisons." Well may it be said that Burmese kings submitted to accomplished facts, but did not sanction them. Shortly before the storming of

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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436 rupees, though the same size as those of the Indian Government, were not in favour in Rangoon. They usually ran to fourteen annas, so that there was a loss of two annas on each. The gold coins were practically not in circulation at all. Englishmen bought them as curiosities in the bazaar and got cheated if they did not carefully ring every one. The smaller ones, struck from the same die as the silver two-anna bit, were principally used by the king to fill silver cups presented to distinguished visitors.

Being derived from the measures of weight, the coins have received the same names. The rupee is kyat, sometimes also called ding-ga, that is, a circular piece of metal, whether a coin or a medal, and the sub-multiples go by the names of the smaller weights: pè is one anna; mu, two annas; mat, four annas; nga-mu, eight annas; thôn-mat, twelve annas; kyat-mu-din, fourteen annas, literally a rupee less two annas; one piece is ti'-bya.

454 The Burmans have no bankers. In native times there were exceedingly few who would have anything to lodge with such a personage. Those who have superabundant coin almost always disperse it in giving a kyi-gyin pwè, or in building a pagoda, a monastery, digging a tank, or some such work of merit. Whatever money there may remain over is turned into use or display in the shape of fat oxen, and silver and gold cups and jewellery. These are pleasant things to look at and easily convertible into money when necessary. Burmans detest hoarding. A miser is threatened with as terrible a hereafter as a parricide. The portion of both is in awidzi, the lowest hell.

● 181 454 All this sort of thing shows a very unbusiness-like, certainly a very uncommercial spirit, but it is at least open to argument that the Burman is philosophically right. He cares little for the troubles of the world and the manifold questions of the day which distract the more highly cultured nations. His eyes are fixed uninterruptedly on the dark mysteries which surround our beginning, our end, and every moment of our life. The earth is only a camping-ground, in which it does not repay the trouble to establish one's self firmly and comfortably. The rich man carries his gold and silver, the poor his last handful of rice,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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to the pagoda, and deposits it there at usurer's interest for his future home beyond. Let the black coolie of India talk all day and dream all night of his filthy pice; let the greasy Chetty money-lender gloat over his bloated money-bags; let the English merchant delight in all the refined luxuries wealth can bring him: the Burman is content if he has enough to eat and remain a free man, happy if he accumulates sufficient to build a work of merit, or give a free festival to his less fortunate brethren. Who shall say he is not wise?

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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A state envelope was a very curious affair. It was nothing else but two large elephant's tusks. Half-way up they were hollow, and on the mouth there was a heavy gold cover. The tusks were mounted in different parts with gold of no mean thickness. The letter of the lord of the Golden Throne was deposited inside, and borne to its destination with the flourish of trumpets and the braying of drums. The majesty of the Burmese king would have suffered if he had forwarded a communication to the Viceroy in a cover which cost anything under a couple of hundred pounds sterling. In similar fashion the reports of subordinate officials were written with steatite pencils on coarse black paper, and this was rolled up and put in a hollow joint of bamboo. The whole was then enveloped in cloth and sealed with a peacock seal. Communications of this kind were sometimes received by English officials on the British Burma frontier.

The following are a few proverbs:—

If you want to go fast, go the old road.

Wisdom guards life; no one can escape bad luck. The man gifted with wisdom is never left in peace.

Every bird is handsome compared with the vulture.

A mountain is climbed by degrees; property acquired by degrees; wisdom learnt by degrees.

Have regard for a whole family of rats, instead of for one cat.

The more you know, the more luck you have.

A short boat is hard to steer; a dwarf is quick in the temper.

If a cock ruffles up his feathers, it is easy to pluck him. If a man gets angry he is done for.

Constant cutting dulls the knife; constant talking dulls the wits.

A pot half full of water is hard to carry (on the head, of course; because the water sways from side to side); the less a man knows, the harder he is to argue with.

A cow that can give no milk will kick. An ignorant man is to be feared for his ignorance.

If there is much paddy (unhusked rice) in the bowl, it is hard to eat. If there is much talking it is hard to understand.

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Don't speak like a mountain, it is so easy to fall off.

Eat little, stomach slender; eat much, stomach-ache.

Beware of a man's shadow (*i.e.* his relations) and a bee's sting.

A coward tiger growls; a coward human howls.

The well-born are fair of speech; the low-born crooked.

A slave's son is a stupid son.

If a great man flatters you, be afraid.

A great man's sword is never blunt.

There are three chances in a nagā's stare; there is but one in a king's. (That is to say, you may escape from the dragon, but if the king is angry with you, speedy death is all you can expect.)

Kyet-go a-yo,
Lu-go a-myo.

Blood always tells; literally, you know a game-cock from his bones, a man from his family.

533 178 [179] in Europe. Indeed the Buddhist religion so frowns upon music that it was practised rather shamefacedly and its devotees are often called *Phet-khwet-sa* (Eaters out of leaves), *i.e.* vagabonds. Even so recently as last year a learned old Burmese gentleman loth to depart this life without imparting all of his Burmese learning concluded a series of Burmese articles on Burmese music and dancing with an apology for having at all indulged in such frivolities.

533 181 178 565 177 Music found in the irrepressible gaiety of the Burmese people a fertile soil and it let its roots deep into the soil, and soon from occupational songs music developed into an art-form which finally invaded the towns, the capital and the royal palace. There it received fresh impetus from a system of competitive patronage in which the king himself joined with his own band. There also, apparently it received its classical nomenclature. Names which sound imposing enough—သရ ဂြဟ ဂြာမ သုတိ etc. *Svara*, *Mūrchana*, *Grama*, *Çruti* etc.—but meant for quite different things, must have been borrowed in their entirety for the sake of their classical origin, so that the names were not in accordance with what they stood for, even as the Greek names, by which the western ecclesiastical modes were distinguished, were not in accordance with those of the ancient Greek octave system from which the names were taken. Thus it seems Burmese musical theory in the classical manner is a grafted dignity which dignifies but does not apply. Indeed it seems yet to be written.

533 However, to go on with Mariano: "Pure Burmese melodies are beautiful in themselves. But on account of the preponderance of grace-notes (mordente, acciaccatura, appoggiatura) Europeans find it difficult to catch Burmese tunes.". This is very true, but not true enough. Ornament in Burmese music does something more than preponderate. They themselves are an inherent part of the tunes. That is why when a Burmese song is taken down by a western musican and reproduced, the ornaments having been unappreciated and eschewed the 'tune' that remains no longer sounds Burmese. Fox Strangways explains succinctly:

> "We think of grace-notes as something which may but need not be added to the note, not as something actually inherent in it. If cultivated for their own sake or used at all in excess they are regarded by us as meretricious.....Indian 'grace' is different in kind. There never is the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with the grace makes one utterance. The object of grace is, of course, to add importance to the particular note, but there are such varying degrees in which this may be done

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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acts of theirs and customs, which I had seen and noted, but of which I did not know the reason. We all know how hard it is to see into the heart even of our own people, those of our flesh and blood who are with us always, and whose ways are our ways, and whose thoughts are akin to ours. And if this be so with them, it is ten thousand times harder with those whose ways are not our ways, and from whose thoughts we must be far apart. It is true that there are no dark places in the lives of the Burmese as there are in the lives of other Orientals. All is open to the light of day in their homes and in their religion, and their women are the freest in the world. Yet the barriers of a strange tongue and a strange religion, and of ways caused by another climate than ours, is so great that, even to those of us who have every wish and every opportunity to understand, it seems sometimes as if we should never know their hearts. It seems as if we should never learn more of them than just the outside—that curiously varied outside which is so deceptive, and which is so apt to prevent our understanding that they are men just as we are and not strange creations from some far-away planet.

So when I settled down and sought to know more of the meaning of what I had seen, I thought that first of all I must learn somewhat of their religion, of that mainspring of many actions, which seemed sometimes admirable, sometimes the reverse, and nearly always foreign to my ideas. It is true that I knew they were Buddhists, that I recognised the yellow-robed monks as followers of the word of Gaudama the Buddha, and that I had a general

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672 Instead of cleansing the garment, it tears it, and renders it useless for this life.

It is a very difficult question, this of crime and punishment. I have not written all this because I have any suggestion to make to improve it. I have not written it because I think that the laws of Manu, which obtained under the Burmese kings, and their methods of punishment, were any improvement on ours. On the contrary, I think they were much worse. Their laws and their methods of enforcing the law were those of a very young people. But, notwithstanding this, there was a spirit in their laws different from and superior to ours.

●181 I have been trying to see into the soul of this people whom I love so well, and nothing has struck me more than the way they regard crime and punishment; nothing has seemed to me more worthy of note than their ideas of the meaning and end of punishment, of its scope and its limits. It is so very different from ours. As in our religion, so in our laws: we believe in mercy at one time and in vengeance at another. We believe in vicarious punishment and vicarious salvation; they believe in absolute justice—always the same, eternal and unchangeable as the laws of the stars. We purposely make punishment degrading; they think it should be elevating, that in its purifying power lies its sole use and justification. We believe in tearing a soiled garment; they think it ought to be washed.

Surely these are great differences, surely thoughts like these, engraven in the hearts of a young people, will lead, in the great and glorious future that lies before them, to a conception of justice, to a method

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of dealing with crime, very different from what we know ourselves. They are now very much as we were sixteen centuries ago, when the Romans ruled us. Now we are a greater people, our justice is better, our prisons are better, our morality is inconceivably better, than Imperial Rome ever dreamt of. And so with these people, when their time shall come, when they shall have grown out of childhood into manhood, when they shall have the wisdom and strength and experience to put in force the convictions that are in their hearts, it seems to me that they will bring out of these convictions something more wonderful than we to-day have dreamt of.

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CHAPTER IX

HAPPINESS

'The thoughts of his heart, these are the wealth of a man.
Burmese saying.

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As I have said, there was this very remarkable fact in Burma—that when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager. There were no intermediate classes. There were no nobles, hereditary officers, great landowners, wealthy bankers or merchants.

Then there is no caste; there are no gilds of trade, or art, or science. If a man discovered a method of working silver, say, he never hid it, but made it common property. It is very strange how absolutely devoid Burma is of the exclusiveness of caste so universal in India, and which survives to a great extent in Europe. The Burman is so absolutely enamoured of freedom, that he cannot abide the bonds which caste demands. He will not bind himself with other men for a slight temporal advantage; he does not consider it worth the trouble. He prefers remaining free and poor to being bound and rich. Nothing is further from him

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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than the feeling of exclusiveness. He abominates secrecy, mystery. His religion, his women, himself, are free; there are no dark places in his life where the light cannot come. He is ready that everything should be known, that all men should be his brothers.

And so all the people are on the same level. Richer and poorer there are, of course, but there are no very rich; there is none so poor that he cannot get plenty to eat and drink. All eat much the same food, all dress much alike. The amusements of all are the same, for entertainments are always free. So the Burman does not care to be rich. It is not in his nature to desire wealth, it is not in his nature to care to keep it when it comes to him. Beyond a sufficiency for his daily needs money has not much value. He does not care to add field to field or coin to coin; the mere fact that he has money causes him no pleasure. Money is worth to him what it will buy. With us, when we have made a little money we keep it to be a nest-egg to make more from. Not so a Burman: he will spend it. And after his own little wants are satisfied, after he has bought himself a new silk, after he has given his wife a gold bangle, after he has called all his village together and entertained them with a dramatic entertainment — sometimes even before all this—he will spend the rest on charity.

He will build a pagoda to the honour of the great teacher, where men may go to meditate on the great laws of existence. He will build a monastery school where the village lads are taught,

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565 or a rest-house may also receive the title of 'well-
553 builder,' and so on, but such titles are rarely used in common speech. Even the builder of a long shed for water-jars may call himself after it if he likes, but it is only big builders who receive any title from their fellows. But the satisfaction to the man himself, the knowledge that he has done a good deed, is much the same, I think.

741 A Burman's wants are very few, such wants as
● 181 money can supply—a little house, a sufficiency of
517 plain food, a cotton dress for weekdays, and a silk one for holidays, and that is nearly all.

You see, they are still a very young people. Many wants will come, perhaps, later on, but just now their desires are easily satisfied.

The Burman does not care for a big house, for there are always the great trees and the open spaces by the village. It is far pleasanter to sit out of doors than indoors. He does not care for books. He has what is better than many books—the life of his people all about him, and he has the eyes to see it and the heart to understand it. He cares not to see with other men's eyes, but with his own; he cares not to read other men's thoughts, but to think his own, for a love of books only comes to him who is shut always from the world by ill-health, by poverty, by circumstance. When we are poor and miserable, we like to read of those who are happier. When we are shut in towns, we love to read of the beauties of the hills. When we have no love in our hearts, we like to read of those who have. Few men who think their own thoughts care much to read the thoughts of others, for a man's

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own thoughts are worth more to him than all the thoughts of all the world besides. That a man should think, that is a great thing. No great thinkers are at the same time great readers. And he who can live his life, what cares he for reading of the lives of other people? To have loved once is more than to have read all the poets that ever sang. So a Burman thinks. To see the moon rise on the river as you float along, while the boat rocks to and fro and someone talks to you, is not that better than any tale?

So a Burman lives his life, and he asks a great deal from it. He wants fresh air and sunshine, and the great thoughts that come to you in the forest. He wants love and companionship, the voice of friends, the low laugh of women, the delight of children. He wants his life to be a full one, and he wants leisure to teach his heart to enjoy all these things; for he knows that you must learn to enjoy yourself, that it does not always come naturally, that to be happy and good-natured and open-hearted requires an education. To learn to sympathize with your neighbours, to laugh with them and cry with them, you must not shut yourself away and work. His religion tells him that the first of all gifts is sympathy; it is the first step towards wisdom, and he holds it true. After that, all shall be added to you. He believes that happiness is the first of all things.

We think differently. We are content with cheerless days, with an absence of love, of beauty, of all that is valuable to the heart, if we can but put away a little money, if we can enlarge our business,

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And so I do not think his will ever make what we call a great nation. He will never try to be a conqueror of other peoples, either with the sword, with trade, or with religion. He will never care to have a great voice in the management of the world. He does not care to interfere with other people: he never believes interference can do other than harm to both sides.

He will never be very rich, very powerful, very advanced in science, perhaps not even in art, though I am not sure about that. It may be he will be very great in literature and art. But, however that may be, in his own idea his will be always the greatest nation in the world, because it is the happiest.

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Burmese AP4

have peopled their trees and rivers with; will show what sort of religion it is that underlies, without influencing, the creed of the Buddha that they follow. It is of the very poetry of superstition, free from brutality, from baseness, from anything repulsive, springing, as I have said, from their innate sympathy with Nature and recognition of the life that works in all things. It always seems to me that beliefs such as these are a great key to the nature of a people, are, apart from all interest in their beauty, and in their akinness to other beliefs, of great value in trying to understand the character of a nation.

For to beings such as Nats and fairies the people who believe in them will attribute such qualities as are predominant in themselves, as they consider admirable; and, indeed, all supernatural beings are but the magnified shadows of man cast by the light of his imagination upon the mists of his ignorance.

Therefore, when you find that a people make their spirits beautiful and fair, calm and even-tempered, loving peace and the beauty of the trees and rivers, shrinkingly averse from loud words, from noises, and from the taking of life, it is because the people themselves think that these are great qualities. If no stress be laid upon their courage, their activity, their performance of great deeds, it is because the people who imagine them care not for such things. There is no truer guide, I am sure, to the heart of a young people than their superstitions; these they make entirely for themselves, apart from their religion, which is, to a certain extent, made for them. That is why I have written this chapter on Nats: not

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because I think it affects Buddhism very much one way or another, but because it seems to me to reveal the people themselves, because it helps us to understand them better, to see more with their eyes, to be in unison with their ideas—because it is a great key to the soul of the people.

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sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he manifests no anxiety symtoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The sense of insecurity does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasized were:-

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathwe would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon.

2. His income in Rangoon is established at a low level. In Pathwe he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathwe his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathwe he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth.

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathwe, to enjoy a full life.

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

General Burmese Attitudes about and Usages of Personal Accoutrement.

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"LU-HMAR-AH-MOOT-TAUNG-HMAR-AH-COOT" — "People must have decent dress just as a basket must have a rim" expresses the basic attitude of the Burmese towards personal accoutrement. By "decent" is meant fitting and proper to a person's station in life and the occasion. Most important, the garments must be clean and maintained in a state of repair. The cotton objects are cleaned by whacking on rock slabs at a water source; the silk garments are aired in the sun and shaken and when absolutely necessary washed - this removes the crispness for which they are valued. Recently dry cleaning establishments have operated in Rangoon. But these are quite expensive and used extensively only by the wealthy. "If one has only one shirt it must be white (i.e. clean)".

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Perhaps the most important means of asserting status is by personal accoutrement. The value of jewels, fine silks for the women of the family has been mentioned above. The Burmese have a low opinion of the person who does not dress up to his station. But are also accraful of those who dress above their qualifications. For example, a man who wears the religious all white costume inappropriately is called CHAUK-THU-DAW (cat-goodman) or pretender. The story is told of a cat who always faced the sun with open jaws. When visiting rats asked why he replied that the rays of the sun nourished him. Yet the last of the visiting rats invariably disappeared into the cat's paw. A war-time atrocity story records the sad tale of a Burmese maiden who was too poor to afford a decent longyi and therefore was forced to commit suicide.

The variety of different longyis worn also indicate status. It is said that some wealthy Rangoon ladies buy a new silk longyi for each social occasion - and rapidly discard them when slightly soiled. In the main, however, the Burmese "pay great respect to their clothes" and boast rather of wearing clothes that are years old - thus indicating the high quality of the cloth. Young girls frequently have Mandalay silk longyis handed down to them by their grandmothers. Success is indicated by the constant increase in quality and quantity

of clothes. The old people take care to save the torn garments for use in wiping the hands after meals, for handling hot pots on the stove and the like. 291 554 1810

There are three classes of clothing (1) working clothes (2) festive dress, and (3) religious dress. The working clothes consist of the cheaper and less ornate fabrics and are mainly of cotton. The men usually bind the longyi around the loins by looping the shirt in a band between the legs. Htamein (women's longyi) waist band is secured under the armpits when bathing. 291 292

While walking in the rain the longyis are also raised to prevent them from becoming wet. Festive dress involves the best which one has, usually silks and are worn on the Sabbath days and at special social occasions as the SHIN BYA and other ceremonies. Religious dress is worn constantly by Pongyis (orange robes), nuns (peach coloured) and frequently by old men (white) and old women (light chocolate coloured). On Sabbath days the particularly religious individuals of all ages, especially those belonging to Buddhist lay societies, wear religious dress. 291 779 [575]

The term LONGYI means "lower apparel" and is applied to both men's (PUSO) and women's (HTAMEIN). The men's festive longyi TAUNG-SHAY-PUSO (taung measurement- twenty-puso) worn frequently in the past and now reserved for special occasions was a double silk PUSO 8 yards long. A special method of securing this garment about the waist results in GAMON ZA ("Sticking out piece") a fold which protrudes 6 or more inches in the midline - only, however, when the silk is crisp and stiff (new and/or finest heavy quality). This is regarded as a very manly garment. Two styles of APAW KINGYI (over jacket) men's jacket are worn. The "Peking" type meeting at the mid-line is most common. A "Cantonese" type buttons over like the women's jacket at the side. 291 292

Formerly every young man had tattooed thighs, extending in a solid band of decoration from a few inches above the knees to the hips. The motifs were frequently nat symbols. The main purpose was to display manliness and courage since the process of tattooing, done with a 3 pronged fork dipped in pigment was extremely painful. 304 562 178

Basic Burmese Concepts of Health and Sickness.

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The Burmese regard health as the best of all earthly blessings. Although Buddha referred to the living body as a decaying corpse, which it was folly to feed, he recognized the necessity for bodily health in order to carry out the all-important mental activities connected with the Buddhist religion. It is then essential for each person to be as physically and mentally sound as he is able. The forces governing health and sickness are both supernatural and natural each with its own set of medical specialists. The specialists are called for only when the case is far advanced there being an extensive lore of home precautions and curative practices. In general, disorders caused by nats and ghosts (supernatural) or magic are recognized by their sudden, catastrophic or otherwise unusual nature, and are both instigated and cured by magical means. The natural disorders are caused by weaknesses in the constitution of the patient, foreign bodies, dangerous foods and such-like means, and are cured through knowledge of medical principles. The germ concept of disease is completely lacking, although when foreign matter is seen, as mosquito larvae in water, it is frequently regarded as unhealthy. The western idea of omnipresent harmful bacteria is regarded as fantastic in being contrary to observation - "our ancestors have lived for countless generations in these surroundings which you regard as dangerous", they will say. There are some 80 different kinds of PO MYOHSA or harmful ingredients that can infect the body. These range from undesirable ingredients in food to mystical influences that rise in the teeth to cause tooth-ache. The cleanliness of the Burmese, as seen in their several daily baths and emphasis on clean clothes, is not out of regard for "hygenic" reasons, but rather for social reasons. One must look his best in public so as not to give offense. to the eye or nose. The sick person is never washed since cold water would have the effect of driving the fever-heat inward to a fatal degree. The date for resumption of bathing for the convalescent is carefully considered; mistakes can result in relapse and death. Cool breezes must be avoided by the sick person for similar reasons. The house doors closed during the day invariably mean sickness within.

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The following interview gives an impression of U Myaing's "World View" and current events: (U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing answer).

Q. Where do you get your information on current events?
A. (U.M.) I read the newspapers, we buy them sometimes - or listen to others who buy and read.

Q. How often do you read a newspaper - once a week?
A. Quite seldom, because I do not have the time. As soon as it is light I have to go to work.

Q. Do you know anything of modern world conditions?
A. We hear what others say - that the Chinese will enter Burma. We do not know what is happening elsewhere. We've heard that the Chinese and Americans are fighting each other, but we don't know where this is taking place.

Q. How does the present situation compare with the past?
A. We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get all sorts of information, but our main worry is work - and hope to provide sufficient food for the family.

Q. Do you know of the A.F.P.F.L. (Anti Fascist People's Freedom League - the major political party in Burma)?
A. Yes, there is even a sign board at the entrance to our camp.

Q. Do the phongyis give you current affairs information?
A. We don't even have a personal phongyi where we live. We

don't usually talk about these things with them. We invite the phongyis and worship them. We don't talk much with them. They preach the law and the 5 SIL.S to us. 181 203

16. Q. Are there any persons of influence in camp who give advise on everyday living? 621

A. Yes, the person of influence is the schoolmaster, U Khant. But he only teaches the children and looks to the general cleanliness of the camp. Another person is the man who teaches the English. But they do not lay down what is right and what is wrong.

Activities of the Family in Relationship to the Supernatural.

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The main forces which U Myaing and his family are concerned with are those of the Nats and those of Buddhism. Speaking historically, the Nats seem to represent a remnant of an early form of animism in which the Nats were tree or nature spirits. It is interesting to note the manner in which U Myaing blends the two religious systems. The Nats control earthly happenings, and the Buddhist structure the eternal. We are concerned with identifying some of the major practices, but primarily with the differentiation between religious practices in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. [178]

Nats.

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The problem of the Nats came up in our study by the appearance of a bamboo pole split so as to form a small basket at one end. This object, called a KYAUNG ZAUNG rested on the roof of the camp hut next to U Myaing's. An interview in which Daw Aw Zar (D.A.Z.) and U Myaing (U.M.) discussed Nats, is given in its entirety below because it reveals the rather vague feelings of "superstition" held of the Nats on the one hand and their potency on the other.

Q. No. 25 (photograph) is a split bamboo pole with a basket at the top. What is this called and what is it used for?

A. (D.A.Z.) KYAUNG ZAUNG. The thing he took from the roof and photographed? It is called a KYAUNG ZAUNG.
(U.M.) It is called KYAUNG ZAUNG.

Q. How do you use it ?

A. (D.A.Z.) We offer to U SHIN GYI and others. Offerings to Nats. Didn't you hear that big man speak? (To U Myaing).

Q. Who made this object? Who makes them?

A. (D.A.Z.) The people who give the offerings of course.

Q. Do you have to make these when you give offerings?

A. If we give offerings we make them.

621 722 structure of the social and political organization is the same in both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathwe, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities [181] are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

621 722 369 517 The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities is replaced by the excitment of life in the big town. Everything is new and different and while the basic understandings are still encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

369 555 [465] 000 Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IN overseer's job in Pathwe. There are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

orange cloth but he remembered my original order and wanted to make these specialty items. I directed him to some friends who I thought would be interested. He was dressed in a new white shirt, colourful new longyi, a brown cloth topee and leather sandals and looked prosperous and contented. Recently, Ma Aye Myaing had presented him with another baby daughter and both were doing well. I asked him when he was going back to Pathine. "Yes," he said, "as soon as it is safe to return." Even a considerably higher salary would not persuade him to stay in Rangoon. Here "though the eye is rich, the pocket is poor". U Myaing is well on his way to making a successful adjustment as an urbanite -- but his heart will probably always remain in the village.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Data

The data presented above on the changing standard of living of the Burmese fisherman-refugee family may be briefly summarised as follows:

Home: A change from a large teak wood house personally owned to cramped quarters under the eves of a bamboo hut provided by the refugee camp. This represented a decline to 1/50th of the original home space but only to 1/10th of the original space used for the home vital functions of cooking, eating and sleeping. Home as a spacious area for social activities is replaced by an area used almost exclusively for the vital functions. There are no innovations and the pattern of home is not broken but is greatly contracted close to the minimum requirements.

Work: A change from a position as an overseer of a cooperative fishing organisation with income from cattle and fish products manufacturing to a day labourer. This represented a severe drop in income and prestige but was not outside of the labouring pattern which U Myaing was familiar with from his youth. It is a return to his basic occupation. The "road back" to position and higher income is being taken - at the present writing (November 1951) U Myaing has been raised to coolie boss of a section of street cleaners. Opportunities for rising in Rangoon are good and the future is once more promising.

Clothing: U Myaing is reduced by 72% from his former quantity, and the females of the family by 41%. The social clothing and accoutrement have been sacrificed and the inventory reduced to the garments essential for basic living. Quality of clothing has greatly declined. The process has been one of severe contraction but the pattern has not been broken or innovations substituted.

Health: The health of the family appears to be relatively unimpaired by change. However, the medical data necessary to arrive at a reliable analysis could not be secured. The most we can say is that hygenic conditions have not materially altered in the camp situation, and the family is not aware of any radical changes in health. The proximity of modern medical aid in Rangoon is of course a great advantage in any emergencies of which the family is becoming

gives important data on the process of urbanizing villagers - the country people are an important group in the growth of the Burmese section of Rangoon; probably a large section of the present refugee population will stay in the future.

The concepts of pattern of living and standard of living: The Burmese pattern of living, or any culture pattern, is a universe of beliefs and practices manifested in acts and artifacts. The analogy of the "Universe" is a useful one in that it recognizes a guiding body of understandings that controls the whole of the society (like "laws" of Universe) while emphasizing the particular understandings that govern the various groups or classes of the society (like the "laws" of the Solar and other systems within the Universe). The "solar systems" are the standard levels of operations forming a comprehensive set of forces within itself. Families, like U Myaing's have a mobility, in the case understudy a forced change, which takes them out of one standard system into another. The adjustments which they undergo reflects the "laws" which control the various standard levels as well as the basic concepts controlling the whole of the society.

Each belief and practice has a range of expressions which can be defined. The particular expression practiced by a family is the standard or level of a phenomenon capable of expansion or contraction within prescribed limits. The ultimate limits are defined by the total range of expressions for the culture as a whole. But the practical limits for a family are defined by the possibilities of the society segment (community) in which they find themselves. Thus, the range of U Myaing's possibilities of expression are much greater in Rangoon than they were in Pathwe and greatly exceed his original ideas of what was possible. He may, for example, become a highly westernized political leader - although this seems unlikely in terms of his expectations. The westernized, urban spheres of Burmese culture is now opened to the family.

U Myaing is motivated by the basic expectations of the Burmese culture at a level applicable to his situation in terms of the possibilities of his social environment. In Pathwe, he was a fisherman and aspired to those things that fishermen should. In camp, he was at

●181 565 555 first a bewildered refugee, but gradually assumed the role of a labourer rising in the ranks. The case indicates the mobility of the Burmese family and shows clearly that it may function successfully outside of the confines of its original social atmospherc.

182 594 621 156 The family in Burmese society: The successful mobility of U Myaing's family indicate that the immediate family is the primary social unit of Burmese society. The Burmese community is then a congregation of immediate families who engage in activities of mutual benefit within the protective framework of the village structure. This interpretation high lights a particular type of individualism which is a family individualism depending on the roles of each [779] member of the family for its full expression. This concept seems tied to the Buddhist idea of individual salvation through acts of merit on the one hand and the exigencies of gaining a livelihood on the other. [474] The family is the basic economic unit and though it will enter cooperative endeavours (like the IN fisherics, or communal nat propitiations), has the ultimate responsibility and capabilities of support- [576] ing itself. The extended family is important, as indeed is the total village social structure, only in so far as it contributes to the maintenance of the individual immediate family of procreation including spouses, offspring and aged parents. The "looseness" of the social structure conversely allows mobility of the immediate families. This analysis indicates that attempts at modernising of the Burmese people (acculturation) should meet with a minimum of structural obstacles - such as caste, clan and rigid associations might present.

181 156 369 555 The Burmese culture pattern and the individual: The village culture pattern is dominated by a series of relatively simple, interrelated ideas held by all. Each individual feels himself temporily occupying a particular situation which is only one of many existences and but an instant in eternity. He is fated to be a member of a particular family with a set of opportunities through life. Life should be pleasant and must be virtuous if future existences are to be pleasant. He must realise as fully as possible the talents and opportunities that come to him through his KARMA situation. In the villages this concept is a great stabilising force and tends to make an individual content with

his lot. It also tends toward a kind of stratification of society where the boundaries, however, are neither sharp nor fast. Each person is comfortably installed in his place and competes, mildly, only with those of his own level. The obligations (as contributions for ceremonies) are in terms of one's ability, and his status is in terms of his virtues. Status is closely correlated with increasing age. This concept motivate the Burmese in the villages within "KARMA groups". 181● 156 364 555 [561] [554]

The unusual individual may transcend his family positions in exceptional cases - by marriage or achievement. Achievement by physical force has been a means of mobility in the past - there is the tradition of the strong man leader who comes from humble origins. Mobility by entrepreneur achievement (rice mill owners, traders) has been greatly stimulated with increased western contacts. U Myaing was a sort of entrepreneur in Pathwe. In Rangoon the opportunities are great and some Burmese are successfully embracing this, as yet, somewhat unfamiliar course. The western entrepreneur concept appears to be finding a fertile ground in the traditional "group individualism" of the Burmese. 156 555 557 [177]

The standards or levels of culture: When U Myaing's standard of living plummeted downwards as a refugee he became discontented and unhappy desiring to return to the "plateau" of his former level. At first he could only think of returning to Pathwe to achieve this, but as [illegible] begins to crown his efforts in Rangoon he now feels the beginnings of a sense of achievement. In his refugee situation there was no sense of shame for his reduction - the events contributing to his downfall were beyond his control, and he had lived "as a refugee should" in which his abilities and obligations were balanced. This resulted in an attitude of cheerful patience understandable in terms of the KARMA concept. 511 181 558

The two standards, in Pathwe and camp, represent balanced levels ranging from the "average" Burmese villages situation to close to the minimum. Higher standards than those of Pathwe are seen in the administrative class of Rangoon and other major towns where western influences are strong (car, western furniture and household utensils, westernized house and clothing, etc.). Lower standards may be 511 565 [177]